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'The African-American Mosaic'

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JAMES H. BILLINGTON
Librarian of Congress

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On the Cover: At its headquarters at 69 Fifth Ave. in New York City, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People flew a flag to report lynchings until, in 1938, the threat of losing its lease forced the association to discontinue the practice. *From the NAACP Collection, Prints and Photographs Division*

Cover Story: The collections in the Library relating to African-Americans and their history are without peer. A new resource guide, *The African-American Mosaic,* provides a key to unlocking LC's treasures. 67

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Librarian Appoints Film Preservation Task Forces:
To Assist in Planning National Program

Librarian of Congress James H. Billington has appointed a special committee and four task forces to assist him in planning a national film preservation program.

A funding committee will assist in securing funding for preservation of films of cultural and historical value, particularly those not preserved by commercial interests. The four task forces will address preservation issues, public access and educational use, public-private cooperation and public awareness. Composed of representatives from the motion picture industry, archives, and the educational community, these groups will work over the next five months to develop the framework for a coordinated national film preservation program (see names below).

The National Film Preservation Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-307) directs the Librarian to analyze the current state of American film preservation and develop a coordinated national program. The goals of this program, as stated in the law, are "(i) coordinating activities to assure that efforts of archivists and copyright owners, and others in the public and private sector, are effective and complementary; (ii) generating public awareness of and support for these activities; and (iii) increasing accessibility of films for educational purposes."

In accordance with the law, the Librarian submitted to Congress last June *Film Preservation 1993*, a four-volume study distilling testimony, written comments and interviews from a broad spectrum of the film community (the report, order no. 030-000-00251-2, is available for $47 from the Government Printing Office, phone: 202-783-3238; fax: 202-512-2250).

This report detailed the many preservation problems facing both old and recent films. The task force members who will help develop the preservation program are drawn from the many individuals and organizations that participated in this initial fact-finding effort.

The National Film Preservation Act has provided an unparalleled opportunity for the film community to work together in preserving America's film heritage.

The National Film Preservation Act has provided an unparalleled opportunity for the film community to work together in preserving America's film heritage. The newly appointed groups will work closely with the National Film Preservation Board (NFPB), the congressionally mandated panel that advises the Librarian of Congress about film preservation needs and recommends films for the National Film Registry at the Library of Congress.

The Librarian expects to complete the national film preservation plan in summer 1994. **National Film Preservation Program/Participants in the Planning Process.** National Film Preservation Board Funding Committee. The mission is to secure viable and continuing sources of funding for preserving films of cultural and historic value, particularly those not preserved by commercial interests.

Chair: Roger Mayer, chairman and chief executive officer, Turner Entertainment. Members: John Ptak, Creative Artists Agency, cochair, National Center for Film and Video Preservation at the American Film Institute; Robert Rosen, director, UCLA Film and Television Archive.

Task Force 1/Redefining Preservation. Mission is to reframe physical preservation as an integrated "whole film" activity, recognizing the tradeoffs of storage and film-to-film copying, examining the adequacy of electronic transfer for some films and planning how technology will change preservation processes within the next decade.

NFPB Liaison: Allen Daviau, American Society of Cinematographers. Members: Peter Gardiner, vice president, operations, Corporate Film and Video Services, Warner Bros.; Stephen Gong, general manager, Pacific Film Archive; Robert Heiber, president, Chace Productions; William Murphy, specialist in audiovisual archives, Nontextual Archives Division, National Archives; James Reilly, director, Image Permanence Institute.

Task Force 2/Public Access and Educational Use. Mission is to create a framework for providing greater access to publicly preserved films, and for educational use of others currently inaccessible.

NFPB Liaison: John Belton, professor, Department of English, Rutgers University. Members: David W. Packard, vice president, Packard Foundation, and director, Stanford Theatre Foundation; Richard Prelinger, president, Prelinger Associates, and director, Archival Footage Development, Home Box Office; Karan Sheldon, director, Public Services, Northeast Historic Film; George Stevens Jr., producer, filmmaker; James Watters, executive vice president, Studio Operations, Universal City Studios.

Task Force 3/Public-Private Cooperation. Mission is to develop mechanisms to coordinate public-private ventures and to facilitate communications among archives, industry and technical experts, as well as legal incentives for stimulating preservation ventures.

NFPB Liaison: Mary Lea Bandy,

director, Department of Film, Museum of Modern Art. Members: Raffaele Donato, executive director, Film Foundation; Douglas Gomery, professor, College of Journalism, University of Maryland, College Park; William Humphrey, senior vice president and general manager, Sony Pictures Entertainment; Scott Martin, senior attorney, Motion Picture Group, Paramount Pictures; Brian O'Doherty, director, Media Arts, National Endowment for the Arts; Edward Richmond, curator, UCLA Film and Television Archive.

Task Force 4/Public Awareness. Mission is to generate public awareness of and support for film preservation activities.

NFPB Liaison: Milton Shefter, president, Miljoy Enterprises. Members: Gray Ainsworth, director of Film Operations, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer; Jean Firstenberg, director, American Film Institute; Tom Gunning, professor, Department of Radio/Television/Film, Northwestern University; Karen Ishizuka, curator, Photographic and Moving Image Archive, Japanese American National Museum; Leonard Maltin, author, broadcast journalist (corresponding member); Josh Sapan, president, American Movie Classics; Jayne Wallace, director, Public Relations, American Movie Classics.

LC Publishes Illustrated Guides, Cervantes Bibliography

Recent publications of note from the Library of Congress include two new volumes in a series of illustrated guides to the Library's major collections and a comprehensive bibliography of the Library's holdings of works by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. (A guidebook to the Rare Book and Special Collections Division was issued last year.)

The collection guidebooks, made possible by the support of the James Madison Council, the Library's private-sector advisory group, provide a sumptuously illustrated tour of the Library's most significant manuscript and performing-arts holdings.

Library of Congress Music, Theater, Dance, written by the staff of the Music Division, not only gives the reader a colorful overview of the Library's holdings in these areas but also outlines the ways in which they serve to generate further creative and interpretive endeavors.

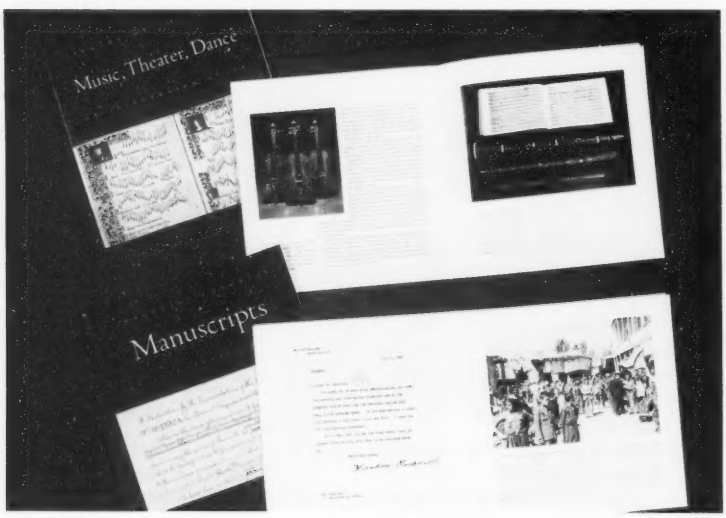
Music Division Chief James W. Pruett notes in his introduction: "The Library of Congress is unique among national libraries in that it embraces the complete range of music—from creating new works to having them performed and placing the original manuscripts in the collections in perpetuity, for the use of succeeding generations."

Music Division staff specialists in theater and dance also guide the reader to relevant materials in those fields that are located both in the Music Division and elsewhere in the Library's collections.

Library of Congress Manuscripts is of the same format and quality as *Music, Theater, Dance* and provides the reader with a glimpse of the wealth and comprehensiveness of the Library's manuscript collections.

From George Washington's personal diary to notes taken by Sigmund Freud, this illustrated guide offers an overview of the Manuscript Division holdings, which have grown from 25,000 items when the division was founded in 1897 to more than 50 million items today. Among the most important—and heavily used—collections acquired in recent years is that of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Library of Congress Music, Theater, Dance, 80 pages in length with more than 60 illustrations, mostly in color, is available for $13 (stock number 030-001-00148-2). *Library of Congress Manuscripts,* 63 pages with both color and black-and-white illustrations, is available for $7 (stock number 030-001-00147-4). Both can be purchased from the Library Sales Shop in the James Madison Building, 101 Independence Avenue S.E., or directly from the U.S. Government



Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Mail Stop SSOP, Washington, DC 20402-9328. Credit card orders are taken at (202) 783-3238.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, a contemporary of Shakespeare, has had a remarkable influence around the world for more than four centuries. He is widely regarded as the most eminent of all Spanish literary figures and among the greatest of all writers. Like those of Shakespeare, the works of Cervantes remain contemporary and relevant.

Works by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra in the Library of Congress, compiled by Reynaldo Aguirre, senior bibliographic specialist in the

Hispanic Division, is an updated, comprehensive bibliography that reflects the sustained interest of the scholarly community in Cervantes and the Spanish Golden Age.

The 974 entries include translations in Bulgarian, Chinese, Lithuanian, Marathi, Norwegian, Oriya, Tajik and Uzbek as well as Spanish. The volume includes a name index of editors, compilers, commentators, translators and illustrators and has 14 illustrations.

Works by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra in the Library of Congress, a 122-page book, is available at the Library Sales Shop for $18, or by writing the Superintendent of Documents, Mail Stop SSOP, Washington, DC 20402-9328. Credit card orders are taken at (202) 783-3238.

John Sullivan, Public Affairs Specialist, Dies

John Christian Sullivan, 55, a public affairs specialist at the Library of Congress for 15 years and a regular contributor to the LC *Information Bulletin,* died Sunday night, Jan. 9.

He suffered a heart attack at 7:30 p.m. at his northeast Washington, D.C., home. An ardent sports fan, Mr. Sullivan was watching a televised National Football League playoff between the Los Angeles Raiders and the Denver Broncos.

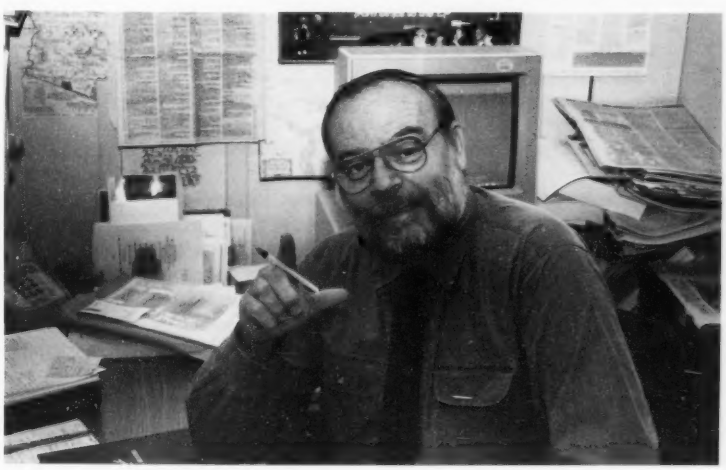
A wake service was conducted Jan. 11, at St. Joseph's Catholic Church in northeast Washington, followed by a memorial mass at the church on Jan. 12. Memorial contributions may be made to the John C. Sullivan K/F Education Fund, care of A. Francis Vitt, attorney at law, 1616 H St. N.W., Washington, DC 20006-4995.

Survivors include his widow, Carole Calano Sullivan, and their two children, Kathleen Connaught Sullivan, 8, and Francis Calano Sullivan, 6, all of northeast Washington; and three children from his first marriage, John C. Gardner of Sarasota, Fla., Bridget Noel Gardner, of Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and Casey Burton of Aspen, Colo. He was divorced from his first wife, Mary Penelope Gates McCann, in 1966.

A native Washingtonian, Mr. Sullivan was born July 20, 1938. He graduated from St. John's High School in Washington (1956) and Southern Illinois University in Carbondale (B.A., 1970). He earned a master's degree in business administration from Central Michigan University in 1981.

From January 1971 to September 1976, Mr. Sullivan was employed in public relations at the University of Maryland. He began as editor of the faculty/staff newspaper and later was assigned as a writer/editor of university publications. From August 1975 to February 1976, he took on the duties of coordinator of publications for the College Park campus, supervising a budget of $150,000 and a staff of editors, designers and graduate assistants. Publications he edited won awards in 1971 and 1974.

Mr. Sullivan's federal service began in the summer of 1955 at the Library, where his mother, Tweety Cathleen Sullivan, was chief of the Records Management Section, Office of the Secretary (now Office Systems



John Sullivan in the Public Affairs Office. *Photo by Erica Wissolik*

Services); he had a temporary appointment in the Library's old Air Information Division. Mr. Sullivan rejoined the Library on June 26, 1978. He worked for the Photoduplication Service until Dec. 11, 1978, when he joined the Information Office (now Public Affairs Office) as a public information specialist.

Mr. Sullivan's primary responsibility in the Public Affairs Office was to promote LC's poetry and literature programs, including activities of the office of Poet Laureate Consultant in Poetry, readings by visiting poets and writers and announcements of awards such as the Rebekah Johnson Bobbitt National Prize for Poetry. Last fall, he produced a videotape, "A Conversation with Poet Laureate Rita Dove," which includes a taped interview of Ms. Dove by National Public Radio's Susan Stamberg and footage of Ms. Dove's first reading in the Great Hall of the Jefferson Building on Oct. 7, 1993.

"John Sullivan was a warm and energetic person who was enthusiastic about poetry and did much to ease me into my first month in the position," said Ms. Dove. "I am very sorry this happened; he was a new friend I looked forward to getting to know better. . . . This is really a loss for LC and indeed for all of us."

Nancy Galbraith, former head of the Poetry Office, recalled that Mr. Sullivan "always went the extra mile" to assist the office. He once drove her to Washington's Union Station to meet Isaac Bashevis Singer.

Mr. Sullivan helped publicize special projects and major exhibitions; for example, the Dead Sea Scrolls, "Revelations from the Russian Archives" (he received a group award for work on that exhibition) and "1492: An Ongoing Voyage." He also prepared press advisories and the monthly Calendar of Events.

Mr. Sullivan worked closely with LC staff to promote their programs, spent hours reading and researching to prepare press releases and information packets, called numerous press contacts to generate media interest in events, set up interviews, arranged for photographs and helped plan and staff press conferences.

"He was a master at working the phones to get the press to cover Library events and exhibitions," said his colleague Helen Dalrymple. "He was tireless at making followup calls, and he was so good at conveying his own enthusiasm and good humor that members of the press were eager to come to the Library to cover events."

As a result, stories about cultural events at LC appeared in major newspapers, including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, national newsmagazines such as *Time* and local and national networks. The Public Affairs Office received numerous memos and letters from members of the staff and the press and LC patrons, who benefited from Mr. Sullivan's assistance.

Mr. Sullivan was generous with his time and money. A member of St. Joseph's Catholic Church, he was active in church affairs. For three years during the early 1980s, he volunteered to coach the Westover Cubs in the Arlington County Softball League. A member of the Library of Congress Cooking Club since 1979, he chaired the philanthropic fund for several years and suggested the practice of giving pecan sale proceeds to food charities. He supplied friends and colleagues with gifts of tickets to sporting and cultural events, and he arranged for children in his northeast neighborhood to attend Orioles baseball games at Camden Yard in Baltimore.

He was a member of several organizations, including the Library of Congress Professional Association, American Historical Society, Civil War Roundtable, Archaeological Institute of America and the Celtic Society of Southern Maryland.

'About Face' Exhibition Opens at the Library

An exhibition in the Oval Gallery, sixth floor, Madison Building, explores the unlikely kinship between portrait photography and caricature.

The relationship is revealed in a comparison of the work of two remarkable 20th century artists: writer and photographer Carl Van Vechten (1880–1964) and caricaturist Miguel Covarrubias (1904–1957). Thirty-four items from the collections of the Prints and Photographs Division are on display, featuring the likenesses of many important celebrities from the '30s and '40s, including Igor Stravinsky, Alexander Woollcott, H.G. Wells, Ethel Waters, Salvador Dali, Man Ray, W.E.B. Du Bois, Zora Neale Hurston, Cab Calloway, Joe Louis and Marian Anderson.

Carl Van Vechten was among the most influential performing arts critics in America prior to World War II, while Miguel Covarrubias became a leading caricaturist during the same period. Despite significant differences in age and upbringing, their personal lives and professional careers were deeply intertwined. Covarrubias, who arrived in New York City from his native Mexico in 1922, owed his American debut in the pages of *Vanity Fair* to the influence and intervention of Van Vechten.

Years later, the caricaturist returned the favor by introducing his friend and patron to the newly developed 35mm Leica camera and encouraging Van Vechten to use one in portraying the myriad men and women he met in the midst of his varied cultural activities.

The results achieved by Covarrubias with pencil and brush and Van Vechten with his Leica reveal strong artistic connections as well.

(A full report will appear in an upcoming issue of the *Information Bulletin.*)

The hours for the Oval Gallery are Monday–Friday 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. The exhibition closes Aug. 7.

Civil rights march on Washington at the Lincoln Memorial, Aug. 28, 1963. *From U.S. News & World Report Collection, Prints and Photographs Division*

'The African-American Mosaic':

New Resource Guide to LC Collections Published

by Barbara Bryant and Lucy Suddreth

Books on slavery and abolition that once belonged to Thomas Jefferson; illustrations and photographs of the "Buffalo Soldiers" who patrolled the Great Plains after 1865; the American Colonization Society's accounts of its campaign to recruit free black Americans for resettlement in Liberia; descriptions of the Negro baseball leagues in the papers of sportswriter Arthur William Mann and Brooklyn Dodgers coach Branch Rickey; Duke Ellington, captured on film, in clippings, in photos and in 11,000 recordings of his work.

These are only a few examples of the wealth of Library of Congress material described for researchers in *The African-American Mosaic: A Library of Congress Resource Guide for the Study of Black History & Culture.*

This 301-page volume is designed to help researchers locate the thousands of items contained in the Library's collections of works by and about African-Americans. It is both a historical narrative – offering a reflective overview of the African-American experience – and a finding aid that will help researchers find the specific titles mentioned in the text while encouraging them to seek related material in the Library.

"For over a century, the Library of Congress has systematically collected

black history resources," said Debra Newman Ham, editor of *The African-American Mosaic*. "But even before this effort began, the Library amassed material relating to African-Americans as part of its commitment to the larger study of American history.

"This guide provides titles of bibliographies, other guides, finding aids and individual items relating to black history and culture in the Library, many of which yield far more information than we could include here," she continued. "The result is a rich mosaic of African-American life that depicts scorn and admiration, defeat and triumph, tears and laughter."

Dr. Ham, a specialist in Afro-American history and culture in the Manuscript Division at the Library, compiled and edited the volume, incorporating information provided by seven other specialists who are familiar with the collections.

In autumn 1989 the group met to discuss the project and began preparing descriptions of items that would indicate the breadth of material on African-American culture and history available in each collection.

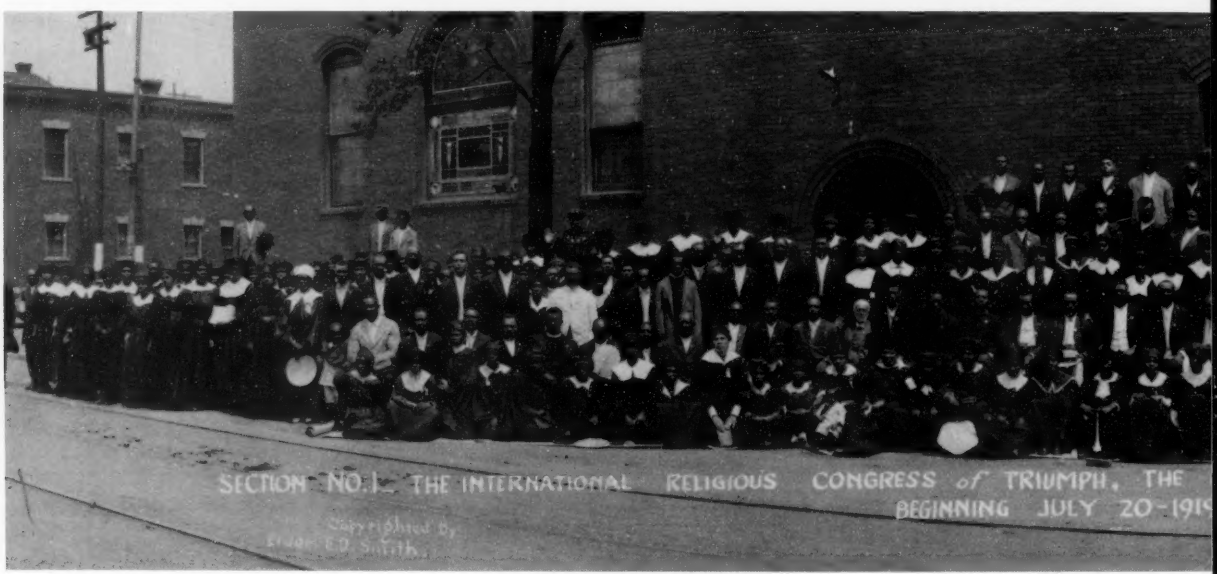
The contributors are: Beverly Brannan, curator of photography in the Prints and Photographs Division; Dena J. Epstein, consultant to the Library; Ronald Grim, head of the Reference and Bibliography Section in the Geography and Map Division; Ardie Myers, reference specialist, Humanities and Social Sciences Division; David L. Parker, assistant head of the curatorial section in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division; Rosemary Plakas, specialist in American history in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division; and Brian Taves, specialist in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division.

This collaboration by staff members who work daily with the Library's collections has produced a selective bibliography that also offers a panorama of African-American experience and achievements.

Early in Part 1, "African-Americans in the Antebellum Period," readers will discover first-person accounts of slavery contained in ship logs, slave auction account books and published compilations such as *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, edited by Philip Curtin.

Dr. Ham noted that the Library's collection of such vintage materials as autobiographies and letters written by slaves "documents the various ways that African-Americans resisted slavery, many by running away and becoming fugitives and others by shirking their [work] responsibilities or by diversionary activities."

Chattel slavery in the American South was referred to in the 19th century as a "peculiar institution," which, the guide explains, "arose in tandem with the Southern plantation economy [and] was unique in many ways. Involuntary immigrants from Africa and their heirs were rarely as industrious as their owners wanted them to be, yet their labor was coveted and used for over two hundred years."



Panoramic silver gelatin photoprint of the International Religious Congress of Triumph, Indianapolis, July 10, 1919

Part 1 also offers chapters on "Free Blacks in the Antebellum Period" and "Abolitionists and Antislavery Movements and the Rise of the Sectional Controversy."

Part 2, "Forever Free—Emancipation and Beyond," covers the Civil War, Reconstruction and the era of Booker T. Washington, who became prominent in 1895 and died in 1915. Readers will learn about the many roles African-Americans played during the Civil War, acting as "support workers, spies, scouts and soldiers. . . . Yet, in the early years of the war, Union as well as Confederate leaders vacillated about the use of blacks in the military and pondered the postwar status of African-Americans."

Facing a shortage of soldiers in 1863, the War Department began recruiting blacks to fill the ranks. "By the end of the war, over 186,000 black men had enlisted, resulting in a ratio of one black soldier to every eight white soldiers." More than 38,000 died in the service of their country, and some would win the Medal of Honor and be celebrated as heroes.

The letters of Private Junius B. Roberts, 28th U.S. Colored Infantry, offer a glimpse of history: "There is about three Ridgements of colerd in camp here. . . . our camp is on gineral lees farm, write on the battle ground we drill write on the graves." Lee's plantation later became the site of Arlington National Cemetery.

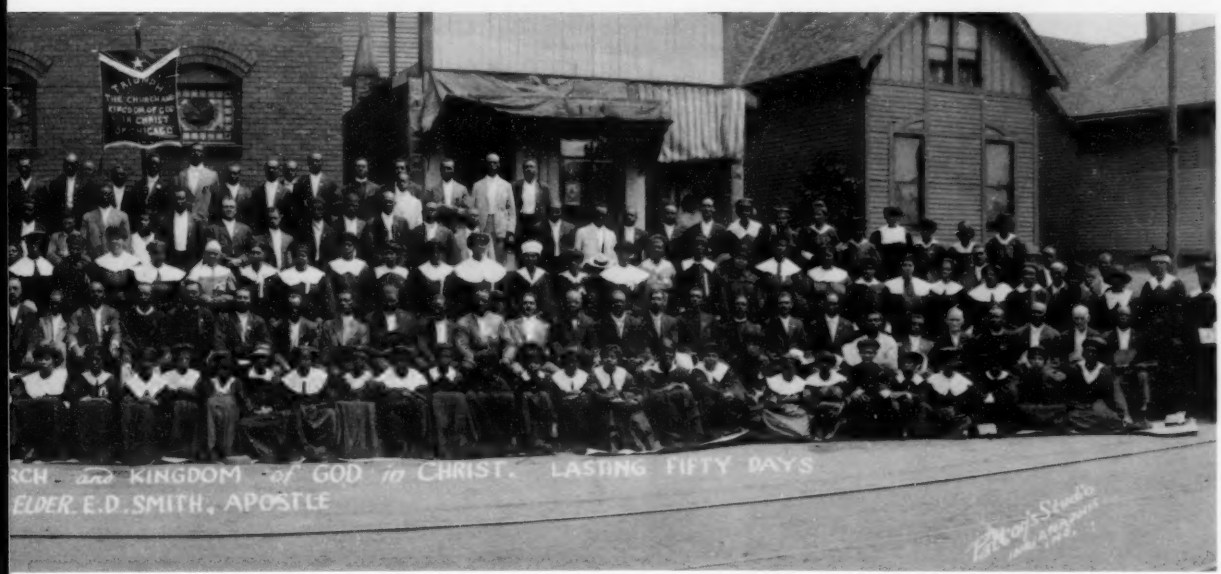
Accounts of the antidraft movement waged by young white men who were too poor to buy exemption from military service and others who objected to fighting to free slaves who would later compete with them for jobs are detailed in the guide. The Library's Manuscript Division holds letters and other eyewitness accounts of a weeklong New York "draft" riot in July 1863 in which many blacks were killed.

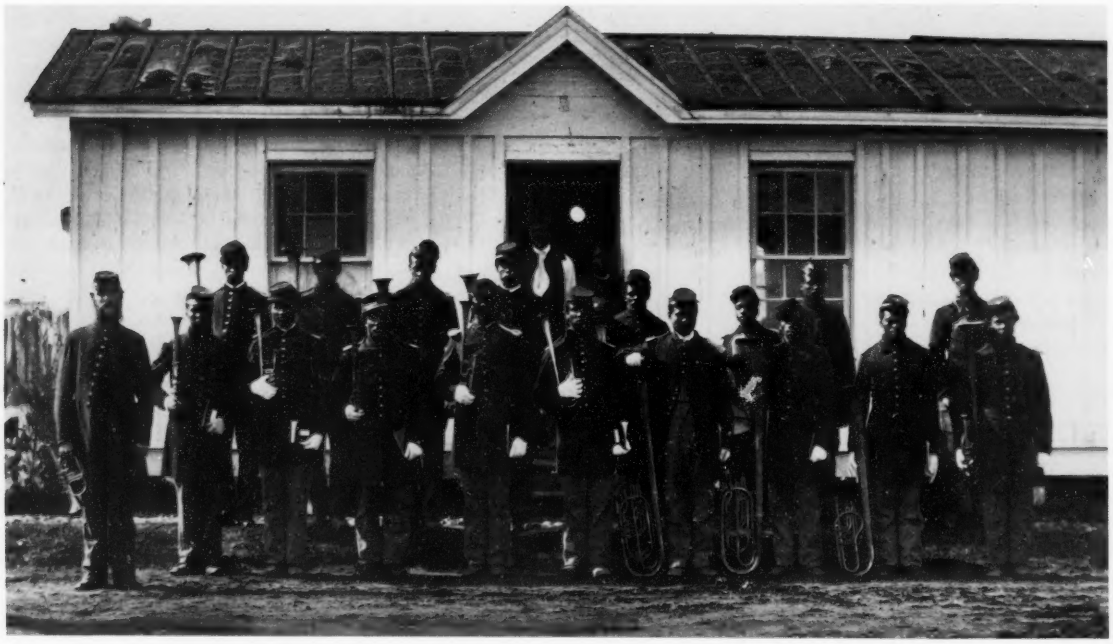
Charles Butler, a businessman, wrote to his daughter: "In the afternoon at 3 o'clock I witnessed the progress of the riot down 5th Avenue at the corner of 37th St. They had just set the colored orphan asylum on fire."

The Geography and Map Division has approximately 24,000 maps and 76 atlases relating to the Civil War, including military maps and others showing land ownership, topography and other details, some of which indicate black settlements at the time. Numerous photographs, lithographs, engravings and woodcuts are housed in the Prints and Photographs Division, and the Music Division has recordings of popular minstrel songs.

Researchers interested in the Reconstruction period will find the papers and speeches of several black Reconstruction congressmen in the Manuscript Division, including those of John Mercer Langston, son of a freed slave woman and her former master, who served as U.S. representative from Virginia, became dean of Howard University Law School and later its vice president, before accepting diplomatic assignments to Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

The Prints and Photographs Division has portraits and commemorative prints of these congressmen and other postwar images. Information about the Freedmen's Bureau, which was established by the War





Band of the 107th U.S. Colored Infantry, Arlington, Va., November 1865; members carry their music and over-the-shoulder instruments

Department and operated from 1865 until 1872, is chronicled in a variety of sources.

The guide cites several books on the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in 1866, along with a 13-volume House of Representatives report on the group's atrocities, *The Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States.*

Other resources track the migration of blacks to the Midwest, the Northern and Southern states and to Liberia. White Mississippi minister Charles K. Marshall commented in *The Exodus, Its Effect Upon the People of the South* that, after emancipation, blacks had "learned their multiplication tables and forgotten their prayers and were consequently hindering the development of the South by departing to other regions."

Other sources chronicle the exploits of the "Buffalo Soldiers," a name coined by the Plains Indians to identify the black cavalry regiments and infantry units formed in 1866 as well as black troops in Texas, the Dakotas and Montana. In *The Colored Cadet at West Point,* Henry Ossian Flipper describes surviving four years of ostracism at West Point.

Part 2 ends with a discussion of Booker T. Washington's impact on African-American history and culture. The Manuscript Division has more than 300,000 items that document Washington's career as a preeminent educator and presidential adviser. Other documents detail the operations of the Tuskegee Institute. Various public roles that blacks filled in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are documented in correspondence with John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. Du Bois.

The division also has memorabilia, writings and correspondence of George Washington Carver, famous for his agricultural research on the peanut and sweet potato. Additional information about the Tuskegee Institute and other educational institutions of the period is located in several formats (ranging from manuscripts to photographs and maps) in the Library's collections.

The guide describes resources on other notable figures who made their mark after the turn of the century; among them, Nannie Helen Burroughs, who founded the National Training School of Women and Girls (later called the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C.); two black Ohio political leaders, George A. Myers and John Paterson Green; and Mary McLeod Bethune, educator and advocate of civil and women's rights, whose legacy is described in Part 3 of the guide.

Researchers can also examine collections of W.E.B. Du Bois's writings and accomplishments; among them,

his involvement in "the Niagara Movement," whose adherents aggressively sought citizenship rights for blacks and rejected Tuskegee's emphasis on accommodation and vocational training. This movement eventually led to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which was incorporated in 1910.

An impressive historical compilation of materials on this organization and on the National Urban League, also established in the early 1900s, will be of interest to many scholars.

More than 3,000 manuscripts and published plays dating from 1870 to the early 20th century received by the Library of Congress for copyright registration sometimes provide insight into the racial attitudes of the period. Readers will also learn about the brief reemergence of the "coon songs" of the 1880s that, according to the guide, "mirrored white ideas of African-American life in the post-Civil War era."

These were followed by new musical forms: ragtime and early jazz. A special collection of Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton's copyright deposits, some written by the composer, are available on microfilm. The Library's Archive of American Folk Song also recorded the artist's surprising account of his life and work, during his visit to LC's Coolidge Auditorium in 1938. "What emerged was a distinctly 'Morton-centric' view of the evolution of jazz, blues and ragtime, in which Jelly Roll was the inventor of every important style of black American music later than the spiritual and earlier than soul," the guide explains.

By World War I the blues era had begun. The Library has books, periodicals, musical transcriptions and recordings of many representative works.

The guide's section on the pre-World War I era ends with a discussion of African-Americans' growing participation in the cinema, which was still in its infancy. For many years, the movie industry offered demeaning depictions of blacks in such films as the "Watermelon Contest" (1900) and "Who Said Chicken" (1903), which features a black chicken thief hiding in a coal bin.

Minstrel routines showing performers in blackface abounded, while "Uncle Tom's Cabin" cast a white performer in the lead role. In 1910 William Foster became the first African-American producer to cast blacks in films. According to the guide, many of the films that followed were made to counter the "overtly racist sentiments conveyed in the Hollywood industry."

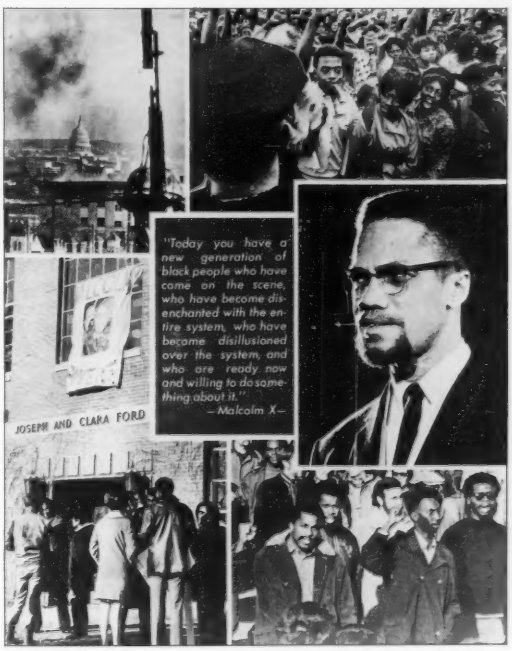
An oft-cited film that reflects those attitudes is D.W. Griffith's 1915 film "The Birth of a Nation," which portrays the mores of the Old South in a favorable light, disparages blacks' roles in Reconstruction and casts the Ku Klux Klansmen as heroes.

In Part 3, "And the Pursuit of Happiness," attention again is given to the role of African-Americans in the nation's military. Reference books such as *A Pictorial History of Black Soldiers (1619–1960) in Peace and War* and *Black Americans in Defense of Our Nation: The Military Heritage of Black Americans* describe African-Americans' contributions in World War I.

Firsthand narratives tell a mixed story. Florette Henri's *Bitter Victor: A History of Black Soldiers in World War I* describes Woodrow Wilson's segregation policies, while Kelly Miller's *History of the World War for Human Rights* offers examples such as the Navy's policy of assigning black sailors to serve among whites—but as messboys and stewards.

Ironically, the most famous collection of photographs that reveal these practices was furnished by Gen. John Pershing as a record of his career. Some show black soldiers in training while others depict them performing menial tasks ranging from serving as porters and waiters to unloading supply ships. Others show white men in blackface.

The Manuscript Division holds collections of black World War I veterans' personal papers, information relating to bands that accompanied black regiments and their reception in America and France. "The most famous was the band of the 369th Infantry, led by James Reese Europe . . . whose syncopated style animated the dancing of


"Today you have a new generation of black people who have come on the scene, who have become disenchanted with the entire system, who have become disillusioned over the system, and who are ready now and willing to do something about it."
– Malcolm X –
JOSEPH AND CLARA FORD

Malcolm X (1925–1965), poster published by the Militant Publishing Association

Emancipation day, Richmond, Va., an annual celebration, circa 1905.

Vernon and Irene Castle, creating a craze for social dancing. . . . At the war's end, the 369th, with Europe's band in the lead, paraded triumphantly down New York's Fifth Avenue. Although the musicians played martial songs when they were downtown, they broke into jubilant jazz when they arrived in Harlem."

The Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division has documentaries celebrating black soldiers' accomplishments, such as "From Harlem to the Rhine" (1918) and "Our Hell Fighters Return" (1919). Other films of the period chronicle the migration of blacks to the North and other urban areas in search of employment.

When the soldiers returned home after World War I, continued discrimination against those in and out of uniform sparked riots; among them, the "Red Summer" of 1919, which spread to 25 American cities. Numerous studies have been published about the strife, including Arthur Waskow's *From Race Riot to Sit-in in 1919 and the 1960s*. The Microform Reading Room holds published guides and material on this subject from a variety of sources, including the National Archives. The Prints and Photographs Division offers hundreds of images from the NAACP files on riots, lynchings, juvenile crime and criminal defense.

Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement of the 1920s is described in biographies of leading black activists such as Garvey and bibliographies on black nationalism. Federal documents compiled by the Justice Department and the FBI in their efforts to pursue black (as well as white) Communist sympathizers and radical activists are also available. Microfilmed documents of organizations committed to seeking

justice for African-Americans, such as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, are available in the Manuscript Division.

This portion of the guide also celebrates the accomplishments of artists and writers of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. Accounts of similar cultural manifestations in Chicago, Philadelphia and Memphis at the time are also available.

Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston and Jean Toomer are only a few of the writers who flourished during this period. Many books, authors' personal papers, diaries and documents are spread among several university and prominent public libraries. The Manuscript Division holds several drafts of a Langston Hughes poem on Booker T. Washington:

"Booker T./Was a practical man./ He said, Till the soil/And learn from the land./Let down your bucket/ Where you are./Your fate is here/ And not afar. . . ."

Other sources of information about Hughes's life and work during this period may be found in the NAACP collection, its magazines and those published by the National Urban League and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which are listed in *Black Journals: Periodical Resources for Afro-American and African Studies and Miscellaneous Collections of Radical Newspapers and Periodicals, 1917–1921* in the Microform Reading Room.

After World War I, African-Americans entered the concert field as well. Among them was Roland Hayes, who spent 50 years performing classical songs and arrangements of spirituals. His success helped Marian Anderson and other artists win acceptance in the classical music world.

As the nation's largest film archive, the Library of Congress has collaborated with the American Film Institute to collect and preserve early black films, many of which might otherwise be lost. In addition to several bibliographies that list films by and about African-Americans, the Library holds prints of many 10-minute comedies produced by the Ebony Motion Picture Co. of Chicago. Targeted at interracial audiences, these short films with names such as "A Black Sherlock Holmes," "Mercy the Mummy Mumbled" and "Two Knights of Vaudeville" were released monthly during 1918. The collection also includes "The Very Last Laugh," a four-part documentary about the Ebony Co.

Dr. Ham noted that "despite the intentions of their makers, these films invoke many of the time-worn comical stereotypes, such as frantic fear resulting from superstition."

This chapter also offers a detailed description of Oscar Micheaux, "perhaps the single most prolific black filmmaker" of the early postwar period. An author who once sold his books door-to-door, Micheaux broke many barriers. "The Homesteader," which he produced in 1918, was the first feature film to employ an all black cast.

Although the original version of this film was lost, two remakes were made. The Library has a copy of the first remake, "The Exile" (1931), the story of a man who flees the city for rural life and falls in love with a woman whom he believes is white and, therefore, unavailable to him. "The Exile" is the first black-produced feature with sound.

Approximately 80 black films were made during the 1920s; few, however, survive today. (It is also important to note that many films with all black casts were made by white filmmakers and many did not deal with the controversial themes that Micheaux and other pioneering black artists tackled.)

Later films featuring Josephine Baker, "Stepin Fetchit" (Lincoln Perry) and "Sleep 'n' Eat" (Willie Best) are represented in the collection, along with more recent films produced by major studios that feature products of the black star system that began to emerge during the 1950s. With more influential and accepted actors came more influential roles and storylines, found in "The Blackboard Jungle" (1955), "A Man Called Adam" (1966) and "The Lilies of the Field" (1963) for which Sidney Poitier won the first Best Actor Oscar

James Meredith, Oxford, Miss., 1962; Meredith broke the color barrier at the University of Mississippi. *From U.S. News & World Report Collection*

ever awarded to a black actor.

Earlier, the Great Depression, heralded by the stock market crash of 1929, brought hardships to many, especially the thousands of blacks who had migrated to urban centers looking for work. These were the days of Father Divine's "heavens," which fed the needy in Harlem while seeking to feed their souls.

With FDR's New Deal came intellectual and cultural nourishment: The Works Project Administration's Federal Writers' Project supported Negro studies—including the drive to collect slave narratives and oral interviews with former bondsmen, all of which are contained in the 100,000-item U.S. Works Project Administration Collection in the Manuscript Division.

The Library also has copies of works by journalists, novelists and chroniclers of this period, such as *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves.* Other divisions house guidebooks, fine prints, plays, posters, photographs and architectural histories. To learn more about the period, researchers may refer to films of materials held at the National Archives that contain information about federal agencies and programs including the National Youth Administration, the papers of New Deal Interior Secretary Harold Ickes (who authorized Marian Anderson's 1939 performance at the Lincoln Memorial after the Daughters of the American Revolution blocked her from singing at Constitution Hall) and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Collections of photographs taken by well-known artists also capture key figures of the period. The Library has numerous photos of black celebrities taken by Carl Van Vechten between 1932 and 1965 and others from the NAACP. Major sports figures such as Joe Louis are preserved in scrapbooks, available on microfilm.

The work of many other artists may be found in a variety of formats: The manuscript of Florence Price's *Rhapsodie Negre,* Margaret Bonds's *Three Dream Portraits* (musical arrangements of poems by Langston Hughes) and recordings of Paul Robeson's performance for the Emancipation Day Celebration in 1944, among others, are available as well.

Integrated lunch counter, Louisville, Ky., June 1963. *From U.S. News & World Report Collection*

The Library has also amassed thousands of documents, books, photographs and other material on the struggle for civil rights that emerged full-blown in the 1960s. Researchers may study the papers of activist Justice Thurgood Marshall (1961–1991) which document his extensive judicial career, culminating in his 24-year tenure as Supreme Court justice. Extensive records on the NAACP, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car

Porters and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights are also available as are documents by and about other important civil rights organizations.

Microfilmed records of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, which was launched in 1960 by students who refused to leave a segregated lunch counter in North Carolina, may be of particular interest to young scholars. Correspondence, clippings, field reports and other documentation on this organization, which spearheaded the 1960s student protest movement, are available in the Manuscript Division.

The number of items on African-American culture and history that the Library of Congress holds and continues to acquire are too numerous to record in a single article. This account offers a brief look at some of the 75 specific sources listed in *The African-American Mosaic.* Dr. Ham stressed that these citations, which include call numbers to help the researcher locate the items quickly, represent only a small percentage of the huge amount of material the Library is committed to collecting.

"In weaving together the work of the eight contributors, I have tried to highlight for researchers and laypersons a variety of sources relating to African-American history and culture that the Library holds in its general and special collections," she said. "The guide is not intended to be comprehensive. The authors hope that it will alert users to the richness of our collections and encourage users to look for and use many of our lesser-known materials."

The guide, which will be available for purchase on Feb. 23, contains 126 illustrations, many of which are featured in an exhibition, "Selections from the African-American Mosaic," on view in the Library's Madison Building until July 31. The Library will also hold a symposium on Feb. 23 to mark the publication of the book. Two panels of distinguished scholars will discuss the Library's African-American resources, covering history, film, music and culture.

Sam Cooke, circa 1964. *From* New York World Telegram *portrait file*

The African-American Mosaic is $24 per copy and may be purchased from Superintendent of Documents, P.O. Box 37194, Pittsburgh, PA 15250–7954; or by fax at (202) 512–2250. Specify stock number 030–000–00254–7 when ordering.

Barbara Bryant is on the staff of the Public Affairs Office; Lucy Suddreth, currently working in the Library's Cataloging Distribution Service, held an 18-month detail in the Public Affairs Office.

Symbols of American Libraries, 14th Edition, Now Available

The Library's Cataloging Distribution Service announces the release of *Symbols of American Libraries, 14th Edition. Symbols* is the standard in the field and the new 14th edition is the only comprehensive list of symbols available to libraries and major information organizations. The publication is a list of short alphabetical codes developed by LC and used to identify libraries and other organizations in union catalogs, data bases and other compilations. It provides a master list for communicating with other libraries.

Symbols of American Libraries includes nearly 24,000 symbols plus references for many other identifiers that are obsolete or are variant forms of approved identifiers. Mnemonic identifiers provide memory assistance through geographic prefixes and coded abbreviations of the institutional names. Indexes make searching easy for users—included are listings of standard NUC symbols, organization names, and straight alphabetical listings.

A notable enhancement to the 14th edition now makes searching by symbol a quicker process. All valid identifiers are now no more than eight characters, making each identifier unique when capitalization is ignored. This enhancement does not apply to changed, obsolete, invalid or unused symbols given as references.

Symbols of American Libraries is the key for identifying symbols in many union lists. Names and addresses of institutions are complete for mailing purposes. **Price:** $28 in North America, $30 outside North America.

To order, contact Library of Congress, Cataloging Distribution Service, Customer Services Unit/Dept. DH, Washington, DC 20541–5017. Telephone: (800) 255–3666 (toll-free in U.S.) or (202) 707–6100. TDD: (202) 707–0012. Fax: (202) 707–1334. Internet: cdsinfo@mail.loc.gov

News from the Center for the Book:
National Reading Promotion Partners Meet at LC

On Jan. 19 representatives from organizations that are part of the Center for the Book's reading promotion network met at the Library to exchange ideas about promoting "Books Change Lives," the theme for 1993–1994.

Center for the Book Director John Y. Cole reported that the number of partners increased by 13 during 1993 to reach an all-time high of 128. Each organizational partner participates in the program by developing its own projects that use the "Books Change Lives" theme or a variation; by publicizing the theme and its involvement with the Library of Congress in the effort; or by making a financial or in-kind contribution to the campaign.

Michael Thompson (top, from left) and Jean Simon, new head of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, discuss reading promotion projects during the Jan. 19 meeting; Anne Boni of the LC Center for the Book (from left), Carmen Delgado Votaw of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. and Alice Tracy of the Correctional Education Association also took part in the meeting. *Photos by Jim Higgins*

The most recent additions to the partnership program are the American Association of Community Colleges, the Auxiliary of the National Rural Letter Carriers Association and the National Science Teachers Association. Other partners are major professional literacy and library organizations, labor unions, one regional and two national newspaper associations, one of the largest newspaper groups in North America, major service organizations (including Kiwanis, the Lions Clubs and the General Federation of Women's Clubs) as well as those that speak for senior citizens, the scientific community, lawyers and those engaged in the education of prison inmates.

Nine of the 128 partners are U.S. government agencies: the Departments of Agriculture (4H Youth Programs), Defense (Dependents' School System), Education, Energy, Health and Human Services (Administration for Children and Families), Justice (Federal Bureau of Prisons) and Labor; the U.S. Information Agency; and the U.S. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. Also participating are major African-American, Hispanic and Native American organizations, and associations grouping – among others – the governors and lieutenant governors of the 50 states, cartoonists, rural electric cooperatives and U.S. swimmers. A complete list of reading promotion

partners is available from the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540–8200.

The purpose of the Jan. 19 meeting was described in remarks prepared for the occasion by the Center for the Book's Michael Thompson:

"The five of us at the Center for the Book find these annual get-togethers very useful—as a way of assessing the effectiveness of our efforts to promote literacy and reading over the year just ended, as a way of stimulating thought and provoking suggestions about the year ahead and as a necessary lesson in humility. Thanks to all of you, we are forced to recognize that by no means all the good ideas on how to promote literacy and reading flow outward from the Center for the Book. As you will see this afternoon, you are the source of many of them."

Examples of projects developed by partners and Center for the Book sponsors include: the restocking of a flood-devastated library in Kansas by **American Mensa Ltd.,** with all the books supplied carrying an American Mensa/"Books Change Lives" bookplate; a student essay contest in Dallas/Fort Worth sponsored by the North Texas Association of the **Phi Beta Kappa Society,** with a $1,000 scholarship as a prize, plus the gift of $500 worth of books to the winner's school library; a brochure containing a list of 30 children's books "that have the potential to change lives," selected by the Book Links advisory board of the **American Library Association;** the display of the "Books Change Lives" poster, along with presentations and the distribution of materials, by the **National Council of Negro Women** at all seven of its annual "Black Family Reunion Celebrations" in 1993—in Atlanta, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Memphis, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.; an appeal in the **International Reading Association's** *Reading Today* newspaper for letters from individual readers about how books have changed their lives; the issuing by the **U.S. Postal Service** of a poster honoring four new 29-cent stamps featuring favorite childhood books and the "Books Change Lives" campaign; the distribution by the **Thomson Newspapers Corp.** of brochures on the theme "Newspapers Change Lives," along with the distribution of camera-ready copy of interviews with Librarian of Congress James H. Billington and Center for the Book Director John Cole to its 240 newspapers in the United States and Canada; the sponsoring by the Pennsylvania Center for the Book, Borders Book Shop, and Pizza Hut of a "Books Change Lives" essay and poetry contest for 12th graders in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Pittsburgh, Pa.; use by the **New Jersey Connection** of the "Books Change Lives" theme to draw attention to its four annual statewide literacy efforts—the Enthusiastic Reader award, read-a-thons, a book of students' writings about reading and the Enthusiastic Teacher or Librarian award; the production by the Graphics Office of the **American Library Association** of a striking "Books Change Lives" commemorative poster by illustrators Leo and Diane Dillon, as well as bookmarks and T-shirts and sweatshirts featuring Thomas Jefferson's statement "I cannot live without books"; the dedication by the **Modern Language Association** of the program of its 1993 convention, held in Toronto on Dec. 27–30, "to the Library of Congress Center for the Book, whose 1993–94 theme is 'Books Change Lives'" and the use by Baker & Taylor of the theme in its publications, the monthly *Book Alert* and its annual catalog, *Books for Growing Minds.*

Uncertain Future:

Former Adviser to Boris Yeltsin Discusses Russian Reforms

Following is an article based on a lecture delivered before the Dec. 12 elections in Russia. The speaker's reaction to the election results appears in the story on page 79.

According to a former adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the preservation of Russia's economic and political reforms is by no means a certainty.

Galina V. Starovoitova delivered her remarks on "The Future of Democracy in Russia" to a large crowd in the Mary Pickford Theater of the Madison Building on Nov. 30. Her visit was sponsored by the European Division, which offers a series of lectures on international political, social and economic topics.

During her visit, Dr. Starovoitova discussed Russia's parliamentary elections, held Dec. 12. Participation by all four of Russia's democratic reform parties among a total of 13 will diminish pro-reform voters' impact, she said. "If the major reform parties are unable to come together and prevent divisiveness, the Communist Party could win a large number of seats with just a small margin—perhaps as little as 14 percent—of the vote," she explained.

Russia's Central Election Commission reported on Dec. 25 that the ultranationalist Liberal Democratic Party, headed by Vladimir Zhirinovsky, had won 59, or almost 24 percent, of the 225 seats at stake in the party contest, followed by Yegor Gaidar's pro-Yeltsin reform party, Russia's Choice, which garnered 40 votes, or

15.4 percent. (Mr. Gaidar has since resigned as deputy premier.)

The Communist Party was next with 32 votes (12.4 percent), followed by the centrist Women of Russia Party with 21 votes (8.1 percent). The remaining 52 votes were split among four other parties.

Half of the representatives in the Duma, or lower house of the legislature, are elected by national party vote; the other 225 seats, and the 176 seats in the upper house, go to winners of local contests throughout Russia. The official turnout was 54.8 percent, and 3.9 percent voted for "none of the above."

Dr. Starovoitova had predicted a 60 percent voter turnout in the December elections—approximately the same percentage as in the previous parliamentary elections, held in April 1993. She described the voters' expectations this time as minimal:

"When they were asked if they thought the new members of Parliament would express the interests or voice of the people, most said, 'No, but we should elect them anyway.'"

Currently cochairwoman of the grass roots political movement "Democratic Russia," she was elected to the Congress of Peoples Deputies in May 1989 representing an Armenian constituency. In 1990 she won a seat in the newly established parliament of the Russian Federation representing Leningrad (now St. Petersburg). In the summer of 1991, Dr. Starovoitova served as spokeswoman for Boris Yeltsin in his campaign for president and then became his personal adviser on ethnic relations, a post she filled until the end of 1992.

She is also editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Evropeets* and head of the Center for Ethno-Political Studies at the Institute for the Economy in Transition. During 1993–94, she is in Washington as a fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Dr. Starovoitova offered her audience a brief overview of recent political history in Russia, referring frequently to the results of widespread public polling to gauge the mood of the electorate. She described Russia as paradoxical, a

Galina Starovoitova. *Photo by Yusef El-Amin*

country "more than 1,000 years old, but also a newly independent state," one that, like nearby Turkey, is influenced by "European ideals and Asiatic culture."

Later, when asked if the Russian Orthodox Church would become an increasing influence in Russia, Dr. Starovoitova dismissed the idea. "Even though most leaders were raised as atheists, many have tried to use the Orthodox Church to restore Russian tradition and fill an ideological vacuum. But the public's high level of education and the different traditions of its people make such a role for the church unlikely. And many people remember that during the Communist regime, the church compromised itself," she added. "We have learned that many priests and monks at that time associated with intelligence cells."

Dr. Starovoitova went on to compare the challenges Russia faces in moving from communism to democracy to Germany's emergence from Nazism after World War II. "But Russia did not lose the war," she said. "We were not occupied, and now, after three generations of Russians have lived under the Communist ideology without any independent source of information, many who see these changes feel they have spent their lives in vain. It is they who join in the opposition to change."

Dr. Starovoitova said that history has filled Russian citizens with well-founded distrust of political parties and traditional governing bodies. Since 1906 the country has seen the rise and fall of several parliaments formed on the basis of a multiparty system. "The last one was dissolved by force, followed by over 70 years of a single party," she said. "Now the notion of such parliaments is compromised in public opinion."

After mentioning former President Mikhail Gorbachev's failed efforts to introduce democratic reforms within the structure of the Communist Party, Dr. Starovoitova described the parliamentary elections that followed:

"In 1989 the country held relatively free elections to the Congress of People's Deputies; however, under Article VI of the constitution, there was only one acknowledged party—the Communists—all others were underground. More than 85 percent of those elected were from the elite in the party, the *nomenklatura*," she said. A year later, the results of elections to the new Russian Parliament were similar: The Communists took 87 percent of the vote.

But activists from the Congress of People's Deputies united to form the Interregional Group of People's Deputies. Inspired by intellectuals like Gavril Popov, Yeltsin and Andrei Sakharov, they won the remaining seats and helped sow the seeds of political changes to come.

However, "this past summer, after the April referendum on Yeltsin's reforms, I and many other democrats were disappointed by the lack of decisive measures on the part of the parliament. Even hardliners whispered to us that Yeltsin could do what he wanted with the parliament.

He tried to find a compromise. He didn't want to overstep the law and the constitution, but he was forced to do it. He could not play the game according to the same old rules. The new parliament had to be launched through the violation of existing laws.

"We had illusions that the new Russian parliament would behave more progressively than the previous Congress of People's Deputies, which was nice enough to dissolve itself after the coup. But the parliament hardliners became loud. And, three or four months after the coup, the old structures of the Soviet Union—the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the army and Interior troops still existed. Yeltsin knew it was a risk to dissolve the Parliament, but it was one he had to take."

Dr. Starovoitova accurately predicted Boris Yeltsin's victory on the vote for his proposed constitution, which expands the president's powers, in part by allowing the chief executive to dissolve Parliament if it casts a no-confidence vote for the government or if it repeatedly rejects the president's nomination for prime minister.

"Recent events show that most Russian people believe the president is more important than the parliament," she said.

She also drew attention to the reduced role of women in Russian politics in recent years, admitting that, while under Soviet domination, 30 to 40 percent of those nominated to the legislature were female. She spoke out against a quota system under Gorbachev that ensured at least 15 percent participation by women in parliament.

"I didn't believe in quotas," she said. "I said we could win against men fighting equally. After all, I did it twice in Armenia and St. Petersburg. And, my opponent was a weightlifter," she added with a smile. "He got less than 1 percent of the vote; I got 80 percent.

"I predict that [one day] we will nominate a female candidate for president," she added.

"All of these events took place in the narrow historical corridor in which we used to live," she reminded the audience. "These are only the first steps in a long and difficult process. Now, President Yeltsin will be forced to work with a new, fresh parliament. I am optimistic about the future." —*Barbara Bryant*

On the Russian Elections

On Dec. 23 Galina Starovoitova sent the LC Information Bulletin *an informal post-election analysis to accompany the article about her visit to the Library on Nov. 30. Her text follows:*

We are definitely upset by the results of the Russian elections. For the first time, we are faced with a serious political threat from ultranationalists and those dissatisfied by the policies conducted by democrats. We were surprised by the strength of the "protest vote," particularly in light of the real improvement in living standards that we have experienced since last April, when the population supported the continuation of reforms.

What has to be recognized is the lack of professionalism in the conduct of campaigns run by reformers. By contrast, the nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovsky utilized professional image-makers. On a deeper level, the roots of his relative victory spring from the general situation of what I refer to as "Weimar Russia," where people with a great cultural heritage and history now find themselves divided by new borders and humiliated (especially in the republics of the former Soviet Union).

At the same time, the alarmist coverage of the elections by the American mass media is not appropriate to the situation. In single-mandate territorial districts, nationalists and communists were not successful. The so-called Liberal Democratic Party of Mr. Zhirinovsky, which is neither liberal nor democratic, took 24 percent of the seats in that half of the 450-seat Duma (the lower chamber) reserved for party lists; the total proportion of seats in both houses occupied by members of this party will number less than 10 percent.

However, the difference is not quantitative but qualitative: Profascist groups and parties exist across the globe (especially in Europe), but in Russia they are no longer underground and are a legal faction in parliament with access to mass media outlets. This poses a threat to the newborn and fragile Russian democracy and a society in transition.

President Yeltsin will interact with all parties, observing the newly adopted constitution. He does not have the right to dissolve the Duma during its first year and no right whatsoever to ban the Federation Council (the upper chamber). Despite the enormous powers given to him in accordance with the constitution, the president will be faced with a very complicated task—that of working with this new parliament and continuing radical reforms; he will attempt this while contending with the resistance of communists, nationalists, parts of the armed forces and a dissolved but very angry and dangerous KGB.

For these reasons, now more than ever before, we need the understanding of the people and the leadership of the United States.

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